/285 cont./ Tuxawa, The
634 apparent holder of almost absolute power (on the temporal plane,
614 of course) (1) belonged to the Bakoro clan, while the Bādejeba or
591

1. We are completely leaving aside all that is related to spiritual power and religious life.

Chief clan was depicted to us as "very poor" and in a "lower" position (Note II, p. 41).

/286/ Privileges and Obligations of the Clans

614

Clans are tied to one another by a network of reciprocal obligations and rights.

[121] An extensive study of this system of prestations would seem to
[616] be of particular urgency. Our too brief stay only allowed us to determine three incontestable cases where a phratry was under obligations to its opposite number.

881 At the time of the initiation of the young men, the village
616 chief entrusts the care of their preparation to the men of the opposite phratry to theirs.

764 At the death of an Indian a collective hunt is organized by the
224 tribe: this hunt must be ended by the killing of a chosen animal.
[616] Now, it is to a hunter of the opposite phratry to that of the deceased that the latter's nearest relative entrusts the funeral emblems and the responsibility of leading the expedition at his death. On our arrival at Kejara aldeia, funeral ceremonies were beginning. But the ritual hunt took place on the very day when we reached the village. Hence we could not go along.

764 Finally, the dances carried out at the time of funerals fall
535 on certain clans which are specialists in their preparation. Thus
614 the festival of the marid'do (1) /287/ is placed under the patronage
616

764 1. The marid'do is a sort of very
535 long, flexible ladder, the rungs of
824
284

/287 cont./

764 which are made of palm stalks cut
535 into sections about 25 cm. long;
[824] these sections are fastened together
[284] by bands of roughly twisted green palm. Each rung is made of a bundle of two (big marid'do) or three (small marid'do) sections. Gradually during the construction, the ladder is rolled up on itself until it forms, in the largest example, a disk 1.50
[283] meters in diameter. The two sides are then decorated with green palm, held in place by a net of cords made of women's hair. The top of the disk is decorated for a length of about 50 cm. with applications of down. The large marid'do is called
[614] Ewãguddudoge cŏreŏ marid'do; the small one, Ewãguddudoge kujagoreŏ marid'do. But it is not necessarily natives of this clan who have made them. Some time before the festival the two marid'do are solemnly taken out of the men's house and taken to the middle of the bororo, where they are placed parallel, about two meters apart, and on the axis separating the phratries. The dance of the marid'do lasts two days; each protagonist tries to lift one of the disks at arm's end and to hold it as long as possible while running and jumping in the plaza. Failures provoke the delight of those
[533] present. During the whole ceremony (Pl. VIII, C /see p. 46/ and Pl. X, B /see p. 48/), the following words

/287 cont./

614 other with food, at least among the men. For, aside from the
264 meals taken in the male club and those brought to the dancers
345 at the end of each ceremony, each family provides its own food in its private house.

614 Clan privileges rest in exclusive possession of names, songs,
626 dances, and emblems, and in special rights to the utilization /288/
424 of certain techniques, certain objects, and certain materials. These prerogatives are strictly respected. An Indian whom we asked what would prevent a clan's making the ornaments of its neighboring clan for itself considered the suggestion absolutely improbable. Faced with our insistence he told us that the members of the clan would certainly become angry and inflict a correction on the offender; but such incidents, it appears, never happen.

Concrete Expressions of the Social Structure

829 Figures 16 to 19 /see pp. 26, 29, 31, and 32/ summarize what we were able to gather of these concrete expressions of the social structure.

Objects

411 Bows. One finds three types of bows in Kejara:
the ordinary bow, of bare wood, undifferentiated;
the bow for big hunting (Fig. 16). It is identical to the pre-
[531] ceding, but on parts of the sector of bare wood which the left
[824] hand grasps and of the sector covered with rope to protect the wood
[283] from the rubbing of the arrow, the wood is decorated with white rings made from the bark of an uaguassŭ (noid'do) palm tree and
[614] fastened on with ligatures of vegetable fiber. The number of these rings and their arrangement in relation to the middle of the bow distinguish the clans.

[Text Continues on p. 27]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

a narrow opening and either a pointed or a spherical bottom. Cooking pots are hemispherical. The wide and shallow dishes now seen, as well as cups with handles, are all innovations due to White influence (figs. 51, *c–h*; 52, *b*, *d*).

Weapons.—Bows and arrows, the principal weapons, vary considerably according to use and represent the acme of *Bororo* craftsmanship. The bow, averaging 6 feet 3 inches (1.9 m.) in length, may exceed 6 feet 6 inches (2 m.), is pointed at the ends, and decorated with feathers; the string is of palm fiber. Arrows, which were from 5 to 6 feet (1.5 to 1.8 m.) in length, have a cane or palm-wood shaft; the heads are of bamboo or bone, and sometimes bear barbs (fig. 53, *a–e*).

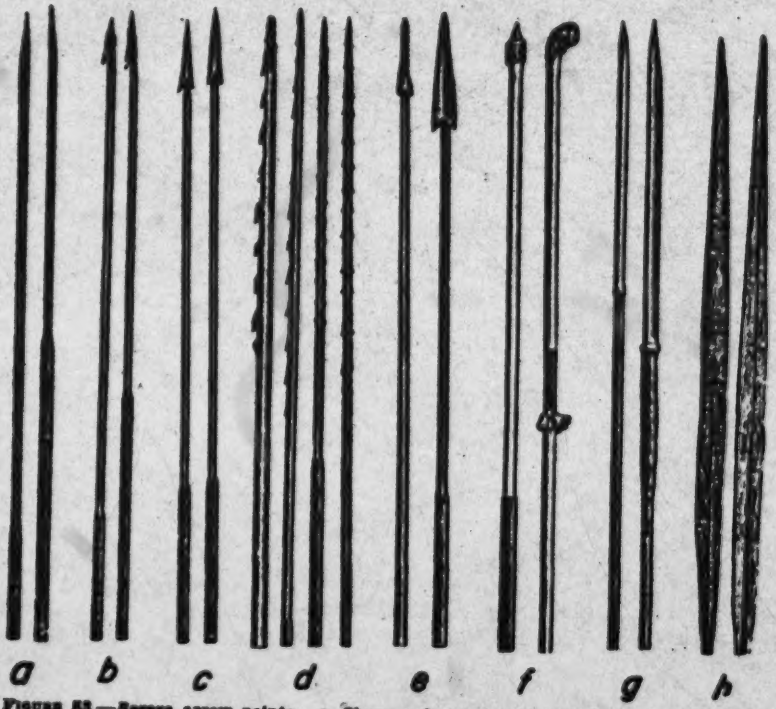

FIGURE 53.—*Bororo* arrow points. *a*, Sharpened rod foreshafts; *b*, rod foreshafts with bone barb attached; *c*, foreshafts with socketed bone point; *d*, foreshafts with lateral carved barbs; *e*, carved wooden points; *f*, foreshafts with knobbed tips for birds; *g*, war arrows with bamboo heads; *h*, large bamboo blades (⅛ natural size). (After Colbacchini, 1925.)

Common hunting arrows have a wooden foreshaft set in a cane shaft, the head (of tapir or monkey bone) being attached to the foreshaft. Arrows used for hunting jaguars have a shaft of seriba-palm wood which rests in a groove of the flat, 2-foot (0.6 m.) long bamboo point

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

(fig. 53, *g*, *h*), being loosely attached with rosin and cord. Bird arrows have a blunt tip (fig. 53, *f*). The groove is chiseled with capybara teeth, which are up to 3 inches (7.6 cm.) long. For releasing the arrow, the archer draws the string with his right middle and ring fingers while the index finger and thumb firmly hold the notch (pl. 86, *top*). The lower part of ceremonial arrows is decorated with feather patterns emblematic of clans (fig. 54); the Porcupine clansfolk, e. g., use a specific arrangement of blue and yellow. All arrows have two spirally twisted feathers, their tops and butt ends being tied on. Wrist-guards are manufactured out of human hair.

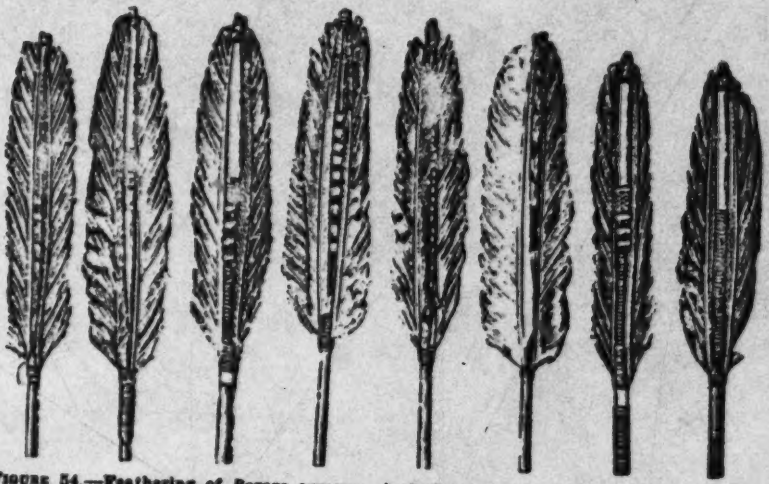

FIGURE 54.—Feathering of *Bororo* arrows. Arched (eastern Brazilian) feathering type. Shafts are decorated with feather tufts. (⅛ natural size.) (After Colbacchini.)

Miscellaneous.—Fire was formerly drilled with a composite shaft of wild Canella and wild cinnamon (*Pseudocaryophyllus sericeus*) wood. Bamboo splinters served to cut meat held in the mouth; the scraper consisted of a capybara tooth mounted on a stick (fig. 52, *a*); and the *Bulimus* conch was used for a plane. Colbacchini (1925) notes that knives and planes are moved toward the body. Von den Steinen (1894) refers to grooved stone axes as things of the past, but they are pictured without comment by Colbacchini (1925).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The *Eastern Bororo* are divided into exogamous, matrilineal moieties, respectively linked with the north and the south side of the village. At Kejara these major divisions bear the untranslated names "Chera" and "Tugare," whose phonetic equivalents Colbacchini (1925) renders as "Weak" and "Strong." The moieties have reciprocal

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

Brazilian influence. He owns ceremonial regalia and is privileged to suffocate undesirable newborn infants.

Individual differences in wealth occur mainly with reference to highly prized feminine ornaments, which are inherited matrilineally. It is noteworthy that a Kejara adept at manufacturing grindstones for the community was thereby freed from the necessity of engaging in direct activities for subsistence.

Arrows were the major standard of value. They were presented to a jaguar-killer or to the kinsmen of one's mistresses and bartered against cotton or tobacco.

Etiquette.—No man roasted his own kill, but was expected to pass it on to another. Corresponding procedures obtained for valuable furs and teeth. The skin and teeth of a jaguar went to the nearest relatives of the most recently deceased member of the tribe, the slayer receiving as his reward a decorative bow and arara feathers.

Some regulations naturally fall under the category of taboos and ritual prescriptions. Before a hunt a *Western Bororo* was continent for 4 days, and painted his face with urucú. Women were not allowed to touch arrowheads. In the distribution of important game and fish it was essential for the bari to consecrate the animals, whereupon he might appropriate the choicest pieces.

Sneezing is connected with distant members of one's family.

WARFARE

War arrows were of seriba-palm wood and had a bamboo tip which broke in the victim's body (fig. 53, *g*). A club sword, a little over 3 feet (1 m.) in length, of heavy aroeira wood and lanceolate form, was suspended by a cord from the left shoulder. The spines of meru and tamu fish, attached to bracelets or to the fingers, made effective knuckle-dusters.

The *Cayapó* were the chief enemies of the *Eastern Bororo*, and *Guaná* and *Guaycurú* of the *Western Bororo*.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—At a São Lourenço child's birth the parents fast for 2 days, taking only a little warm water on the third, lest father and child fall ill. In the Rio das Garças group abstention from food, drink, and smoking lasts from 3 to 5 or even 10 days, the object of the taboo being to make the infant able to bear hunger. The mother does not touch meat for several months. Parents here must not put their hands on their hair during this period—an indirect suggestion of a scratching stick—lest their hair turn white.

881 reciprocal, he will be called iyorubodare by them. The only
*601 exception occurs if the initiator is a brother of the boy's true father; then the boy will call his father's mother imarugo, grandmother.

881 When delivering the boy to the initiator, the boy's
539 brother says, "This is your wife (akoreduje); together with him you will cut marido; together with him you will go to get the palm leaves in the forest; with him you will clean the village plaza and Aije muga; you will make a road for mano; with him you will open a path through the bushes, in front of the others carrying their bows and nets; with him
824 you will kill game and fish."[1] (Marido is the plant the Bororo use in making a big wheel, also called marido, with which they dance during a ceremony of the same name. The palm leaves mentioned are those which the Bororo men use to make a fence around the dancing ground during certain cere-
796 monies forbidden to women. Aije muga is the place where the Aije, the bull-roarers, are hidden, where many of the ceremonies have their starting point, and where the actors in these ceremonies are adorned and furnished with the necessary
824 paraphernalia. Mano is another wheel of palm leaves that the Bororo carry in a race on a long road leading to the village.

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[1] "Akoredujereo, awu apore are mano kora ta, awu apore are keo kora ta, awu apore ature bai kae, awu apore ature kaidaga kae, awu apore are bororo akudo, awu apore Aije muga akudo. Awu apore are mano koda to, awu apore are awure jodo ipo, iwora paru keje, tuge, boiga, buke, boari otodai."

/128 cont./

614 For example: the group of the Apiborege of the caste of the
551 Tugarege uses these names Trua cereu, Adugo meri, Iparegiri, and others; the Paiwe of the same caste use, among many others, these: Meriri Prado, Cerae Togiũ, Meriri cooáa. Never, however, will there be promiscuousness between the names of the two groups; never will the Apiborege use the names of the Paiwe, and vice versa, even though they belong to the same dynasty of the Tugarege. The same custom governs the Cerae, who will never use the proper names of the Tugarege, nor of the groups of them. For example: the Bocodori cerae, the Coge cibae cerae, the Aorori take the following proper names for members of their families: Wororeu, Coge kigadurẽu, Woro mugureu; the Kié have for their own use the following: Toro Pradu, Ukeparabara, Aurajokívo. There will never be a case of a family of the Bocodori giving its members names used by the the Kié. --

551 To the animal or vegetable being whose name they use,
824 they do not attribute any cult or worship, /129/ or any
825 consideration. For example: an individual to whom the name of Piodudo (hummingbird or colibri) was given will not for this reason profess any special respect for this bird, nor will the hummingbirds for this reason have any immunity. The same happens in relation to other animals or plants."

854 In general, the child, in its first years, is taken care of by
859 the mother.

000 Vaerting (o.c., pp. 6-9) designated as a result of female predominance the custom known from some regions of ancient Europe, Africa, and Asia, according to which the woman
[171] takes the initiative in love and in marriage. Similar behavior was observed among some South American tribes; let there be mentioned, for example, the Choroti in the Chaco (Erland Nordenskiöld: Indianerleben /Indian Life/, Leipzig, 1912, pp. 86-90).

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

Brazil.

The palm-tree in its numerous varieties, is the never-failing friend of the "children of the wilderness." It will provide them with food of some kind every day in the year, even when there is nothing else to be had. Every day, unfailingly, they may obtain the white, cheese-like heart of a kind that grows but six feet high. The outer rings are stripped off, leaving a vegetable like the solid part of a cabbage. I found it an excellent food, when cooked. The savages eat it raw. The spongy, fiberous trunk of another palm, when pounded and wrung out, yields a white, starchy liquid, like milk. This is boiled in a clay pot and mixed with the yellow, insipid fruit of the burity-palm. It is considered good broth. Or, the uncooked liquid may be evaporated, and the starch thus obtained made into a kind of bread. The large, yellow, plum-like fruit of the burity-palm is eaten raw with a relish by the Bororó, though I found it far from palatable.

Another variety of palm furnishes an unfailing supply of nuts about the size of a goose-egg. This nut is first thrown into the fire for a few minutes, then the thin outer shell is peeled off and a layer of an insipid substance, somewhat like slippery-elm, is scraped from it and eaten. Next, the nut, which is very thick, is split, and the small, white, woody kernel removed and eaten raw, or pulverized in a wooden mortar and made into a cake, which is wrapped in green leaves and baked in the ashes. The Bororó consider this a delicacy. Still other varieties of palm furnish the Bororó the material for his bows and arrows, and cordage for fish-nets and harpoon lines, besides the material with which to build his hut.

Charles Darwin describes a very interesting palm found on the Andean ridge. When fallen up hill and the top cut off, it yields an incredible quantity of sweet sap, from which syrup and sugar are made.

But the most remarkable tree is the famous "vegetable cow," found in Venezuela and in the Amazonian forests, which yields an amazing quantity of milk. Humboldt describes this wonderful plant in his book of travels in tropical America.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

Chapter XXXIII.

WEAPONS.—THE BLOW GUN.—HUNTING.—MARVELOUS FISHERMEN.—THE MANO RACE.—THE WILD MAN'S EVENING ANTHEM.—WOMAN.—UNIQUE MARRIAGES.—FIGHTS.—PRIMITIVE ARITHMETIC.

411 The weapons of the Bororó, used both in war and in the chase, are huge bows that are longer than the archer is tall, spear-like arrows four or five feet in length, and two styles of clubs, made of iron-like wood, one of which is shaped like an enormous dagger.

[824] They obtain the wood for their bows from a certain palm-tree, and the fibre with which to make their bow strings [283] from the long, slender foliage of another plam. The fibre is stripped out of the green leaves by the primitive artisan, and twisted, or spun, by rolling between the palm of the hand and the leg above the knee as the spinner sits, cross-legged, on his palm-leaf mat, and lastly, these strands are twisted dexterously into cordage in the same manner. The bow is usually wound half its length with reserve string.

The arrows are made by skilfully fitting together three [824] different pieces of wood. The point, or spear part, is made either of taquara or palm-wood, and in a variety of forms, according to the use to be made of it. Broad blade points are used in hunting large game, and for war, while various styles of harpoon points are used for fishing. A special kind of arrow is made which is six feet in length and very

151 tions of the doings of animate nature, not excepting even the
825 insects. Indeed, the imitating of animals appears to form a large part of Bororó life.

526 Late, one murky afternoon, I had the pleasure of seeing
[824] them run what they call the *Mano* race. *Mano* is their name for the small, wild banana-plant used in this race. The word also means youth, or young man. Perhaps the name means, the young men's race. The race is run by two groups of men
[825] each carrying a ponderous roll of the *mano* plants, and seems to be a close imitation of some of the performances of the saũba ants.

Early in the day, all the men of the village went up
[501] the river to a spot where the *mano* grows, and cut a ton or
[824] two of the plants, which grow but three or four feet high,
616 brought the material down the river on rude floats made of bundles of bamboo or burity-palm wood, carried it to a point about seven hundred yards from the village and placed it in two piles, one for each of the two divisions of the village, the *Shcraidi* and the *Ta Nagarĉda.*

Each group of contestants now seated themselves on the damp ground and prepared the *mano* by cutting off the tops, leaving a spongy stalk eighteen inches long. This done, each group transformed its stack of material into a huge roll, or wheel. To do this, two men placed themselves face to face, five feet apart, like living posts, having two long cords passed over their shoulders and looped down to the ground between them, and supported by two companions who leaned against them, back to back; then the *mano* was piled between these human posts and the cords were thrown over it and drawn tight by placing the rolls on their sides and three or four savages pulling on the end of each cord while others pommeled the green mass over the cords. When tightly bound, each wheel was again placed in an upright position ready to be seized and hurried off in the mad race for the village.

526 But primitive men must do things decently and in order
616 as well as their more favored civilized brothers. A *Ta*

/473 cont./

291 like to say that for this or for some other reason they bind their waists with a piece of tree bark ten inches wide, and, to be sure, so tightly that the skin at stomach height and over the abdomen and hips forms a bulge, which tends to disfigure them; but to go back to the strange custom, I must add that from this belt two strands (filamentos) two to three inches wide hang down in front and back." According to Waehneldt, the women wear a piece of tapir skin, one and a half spans wide, tied around their waists; "coming out from it is a bast band half a span wide, which covers their genitals." Rohde writes: "The women likewise go naked, the sole article of clothing is a narrow strip of cactus bark which conceals only the smallest part of the sexual organs."

With regard to our Bororó women, I have said on page 186 [287] [841] that they wore on a hip cord a gray bast band three to four fingers wide, and during the menses a similar black one, that in place of the hip cord they also used a piece of hard bark over which the /474/ T-band extended down in front and up in back, both of which were additionally secured by a string or bast wrapping. Younger women seemed to prefer the "corset" to the hip cord; the abdomen was tightly encased in the rigid bark armor.

291 The gray bast came from the jangadeira tree (jangada = raft), 287 whose light wood is used for the construction of rafts; it is also ● 824 called embira branca and its botanical name (from the family of Tiliaceae) is Apeiba cymbalaria. The black bark-belt came from the jiquitiba or pot-tree, Lecythis, a beautiful ornament of the primeval forest with a huge crown. A thick piece of bark was hewed off medium-sized trunks and laid in water for a week. Then a very fine, soft bast could be peeled off on the inside, [386] which furnished the hygienic bands. It was dyed black in rotten mire (tyjuca of the Tupí). The coarser hard outer layers provided the material for the belts, which had a width up to 28 centimeters. Often even children three to four years old wore the belt and looked very dröll in it.

291 From what we have seen, the bark belt might be regarded merely as a substitute for the hip cord, whose firm embrace was perhaps agreeable, as long as the fashion did not become

/481 cont./

415 on the hunt needed no vessels or they knew how to make do with The men fruit /482/ shells and bamboo, they kept their feathers in large bamboo boxes, and the women made pot-bowls and water pots at home. The giant bamboo does not grow in the vicinity of the [824] colony, but is fetched from some distance; we found containers 50-60 centimeters long and nine centimeters thick, out of which longitudinal lids had been cut.

224 On page 558 I have presented drastic examples of the crude lack of understanding which was characteristic of the Bororó in contrast to the field cultivation of the Brazilians. The men went out hunting for days and weeks; sometimes they were accompanied by a few women. Thus it was not a purely nomadic life, but rather settlement was present. It was made possible by the roasting of game and by fishing.

[25] We saw a group of returning hunters; they brought home in carrying baskets a quantity of meat very thoroughly roasted, black and dry, chiefly wild pig, fowl, and turtles, with large, charred pieces of skin and only little meat adhering to them. [151] The Brazilians valued the Bororó as excellent trackers; deserting soldiers were soon caught with their help.*

487

* In order to prevent the troops sent out against them from finding their village, the natives resorted to the ruse of traveling the final stretch of the way through the trees as much as possible.

226 Fish were shot with arrows or caught with hooks, which they made out of stolen iron and out of the shell of the turtle, copying the Brazilian model, or in nets; in that a circle was formed and the fish driven together. They also blocked narrower rivers with branches and grass, leaving a few funnel-shaped entrance holes, behind which an enclosure of bamboo sticks was erected. In shallow rivers, Clemente said, the Indians remained in the water [147] all night, working by palm torches. The assertion that they were [824] able to remain under water for a long time remains incompre- [296] hensible to me. They chewed the bitter leaves of the "dyorúbo"

/482 cont./
226 tree before they plunged under, and afterwards they spat them
147 out again. They caught fish under water. He knew of one man
324 who remained in the depths for about an hour and came back
276 "with an armful of pintados."

484 It is certain that the Bororó liked to stay in the water. One saw those returning from the hunt appear in the river one or two kilometers above the colony and travel the distance by swimming or wading up to their necks in water, instead of choosing the land route and merely swimming across. One could hear them laugh-
[482] ing and talking far off; they would follow one another in pairs a short distance apart, all uniformly holding their bows straight up, like crosses, at the top of which the bunches of arrows were tied horizontally, and carrying the captured animals on their chests or under their arms.

482 The women who brought the heavily loaded baskets full of palm nuts and roots or huge bundles of long palm leaves for /483/ roof and house wall likewise swam home. They tied the carrying baskets to pieces of wood, four to each piece, and guided them with ropes, like the pelota (cf. p. 139 /untranslated/). The carrying baskets were carried on the back in a bast loop which ran across the forehead or the front of the head.

501 The Bororó did not have any canoes. They called the vessels of the Brazilians ĩka -- the same word that they used for branches and twigs (not tree trunks: ipó) such as they were in the habit of tying together to form small rafts for the transportation of loads.

231 Dogs, which we imagine to be indispensable to the primitive hunter, from the example of our forefathers, were absent among the Bororó, not only in their original home, but even now they were scarcely ever used, although they could easily have been available to them in large numbers.

000 Later I shall be in a position to discuss the distribution of hunting booty.

411 Weapons. Bows and arrows represented the highest development of techniques and were fashioned with extraordinary neatness and precision. Here one could see most clearly that, if only there is interest, there will be no lack of achievement. Except for the

/483 cont./

411 club, the bow was also the sole weapon of war. It is said of the Bororó dos Campos that they "seldom" had lances, with points of iron, bone, or stone. The club of the S. Lourenço was one and a third meters long, a rather flat piece of palm wood which was three to four centimeters wide and ended in a blade only five to six centimeters wide.

No. 5 in Figure 137 /see p. 605/ shows us the ordinary bow, baíga. It is up to 1.9 meters long and, at a width of a third of a [283] meter, is wound with a palm-fiber cord, a reserve bowstring that usually forms the continuation of the stretched bowstring; cf. Plate 411 28 /see p. 600/. The bows carried on festive occasions by chiefs 237 and regarded as ceremonial gifts, the ornamentation of which [554] is shown on No. 1, have magnificent feather ornaments. The wood has colorful small arara feathers pasted over it, either red and yellow or blue and yellow, with white down in between, and the end held up is crowned with a tuft of like-colored feathers. The colorful tuft sometimes also adorns the ordinary hunting bow. 411 The fortunate slayer of a jaguar, finally, is distinguished by the [53] bow of No. 2; on it are put a dozen small yellow bands of [554] oaussú palm leaf (Attalea spectabilis). The bows have a rather [824] flat back, whereas the surface facing the bowstring is more convex, the opposite of the Paressí bows.

[824] The arrows have a shaft either of kambayuva reed or of the elegant black seriba palm straw (Avicennia). On the pencil-thin seriba shafts is set an end-piece of reed on which the tail feathers are attached; they are carefully planed with pierced Bulimus shells and more smoothly polished with lischa leaves, which are rough like sandpaper.

/484/ /Fig. 137 appears here./

/485/ Common to all arrows are the two pinions put on with a spiral twist and fastened at the upper and lower end; on the illustrations one can see how the shaft of the feather stands out from the reed of the arrow in a slight curve. A few rings of small, dainty feathers are often also put on between them.

[Text continues on p. 606]

/492 cont./

simple. The animals primarily consecrated are precisely the same ones into which deceased baris enter, and the baris, after their death, transform themselves into the animals which are prized as the best game! Hence it is necessary to convince oneself that the slain animal cannot be brought back to life, and the consecration consists of this attempt. A large jahú fish was caught and brought to the men's house, a specimen almost one and a half meters long, which could not be roasted in one piece. A bari squatted down beside it, started to tremble violently, closed his eyes, vehemently shook his right hand pressed against his mouth, then began to blow and to cry vái vái, threw back his head and drew a deep breath, blew on the fish from top to bottom, tapped it all over, sprinkled it with saliva, opened the mouth of the animal, screamed and spat into it, closed it again -- finished. A procedure that was brisk and businesslike and lasted only three minutes by my watch. Then he seized a knife, cut up the fish, and took the piece that I, too, would have taken.

The animals that absolutely must be consecrated are the large fish, jahú, pintado sheatfish, and dourado, and the capybara, tapir, and cayman. The head of the tapir in particular requires the ceremony; no one but the bari may eat the tapir proboscis, /493/ which has the tenderest meat, and the back of the neck; of the other animals, too, the best belongs "to the bari and his friends," who divide it up after it is roasted. The system has also been extended to some fruits: pikí, mangabas, and maize, again the best tasting ones. In the case of akurí nuts the procedure is unnecessary; it has been done with maize only since the Brazilians regularly supply the colony with it. Indeed, a bari must be present when the animals are caught! If a fish subject to the official meat-inspection falls into the net when no bari is present, it must be released, and Clemente said that this actually happens, but only by way of exception, because there are always several bari and they are always present. A person who violates the custom will soon die. Cf. "transmigration of souls" below /see p. 646/.

241 people went hunting and fishing. Only men did the field work, clearing the field together, but each family head planted his part of the field. If the crops did not grow well the ghosts were asked to cure the field.

252 Bitter manioc was prepared for food in two ways. First, unpeeled tubers were left to soak in water for 2 days, then squeezed in a strip of bast or a piece of cotton cloth. After the skins and fibers were picked out the pulp was rolled into balls and dried. The dry balls were later ground in a mortar, and the meal was sifted in a circular buriti fiber sieve and stored in baskets. When a woman wished to bake she placed some of the meal in a shallow pot, dampened it with water, and placed it on the fire to produce *jukupóto*, "beizhú." By the second method they produced chicha (*zumima*). The tubers were peeled and grated, and the pulp, mixed with water, was boiled for several hours until it formed a thick paste. This preparation was eaten when cooled. Sweetpotatoes and maize were roasted; and fish and meat were broiled over a babracot.

HUNTING AND FISHING

411 [726] The siriva palm wood bow (*boíko*) is used in fishing and hunting, and formerly it was used in war. Umotina bows ranged from 5 to 7 feet in length, 2 inches in width, and an inch in thickness in the middle. In cross section the bow is oval, often somewhat more flat on the inner side. Siriva wood is black with white streaks, but with age and polishing the bow turns jet black. Slight [283] shoulders are notched at each end to hold the bowstring (*boíko*) made from tucum fiber, the extra length being wound above the handhold. 411 224 The 5-foot arrow (*ísho*) is made by fixing a notched canela or siriva foreshaft to a taquara shaft. This point is used for fish and small game. Bamboo points are used for big game such as tapir, jaguar, and peccary. All arrows excepting those used in fishing are feathered with urubú or mutúm feathers. A feather about 8 inches long is split and the halves are fastened to the arrow with twine lashings about one-eighth inch apart, which are then covered with pitch.

226 [824] Fish were shot from the banks and, in shallow pools, were drugged with timbó. Women used a cast net fastened to an oval hoop (*búkye*) for catching small fish after they were drugged.

[p.107 (A)]